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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00 DODE-00 EUR-01 HA-09
H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01 P-01 RPCS-01 SNP-00
SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 RPE-01 /026W

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O 091549Z FEB 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2951
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00522

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: BACK TO ARUSHA?

REFS: (A) KIGALI 00476, (B) KIGALI 00491

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED TODAY THE
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REMOVAL OF ELEVEN ACTIVE OFFICIALS AS A RESULT OF THE
MASSACRES IN GISENYI. THIS IS A GREATER NUMBER THAN
WOULD HAVE HAPPENED BEFORE THE CEASEFIRE WAS BROKEN.
IT WAS LATER ANNOUNCED THAT, FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS
OF THE CLEANUP COMMISSION, TEN MORE BOURGEMESTRES AND
A SOUS-PREFET WOULD BE REMOVED. AMONG THEM WERE THE
INFAMOUS GATETE OF MURAMBI AND RWAMBUKA OF KANZENZE
(BUGESERA). RADIO RWANDA ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE RPF
HAS KILLED BOURGEMESTRES OF KIDAHU, BUTARO AND KINIGI,
THE LATTER WITH A MASS GRAVE IN HIS BACKYARD. BUT

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW AUTHORITY:
ROBERT R. STRAND

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THE GOVERNMENT SEEMS WILLING TO PROCEED WITH
NEGOTIATIONS IN SPITE OF THE CEASEFIRE VIOLATION.
FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA CONDEMNED THE CEASEFIRE
VIOLATION AND CALLED ON DIPLOMATS TO HELP PERSUADE
THE RPF TO RETURN TO THE TABLE. BUT, PL LEADER
MUGENZI HAS STAUNCHLY SUPPORTED THE RPF IN ITS LATEST
GAMBIT AND HAS NOW PROPOSED THAT THE AGREEMENT BY THE
PRESIDENT TO ALL ASPECTS OF THE JANUARY 9 PROTOCOL
SHOULD BE A PRECONDITION FOR THE RESUMPTION OF
NEGOTIATIONS. HE SEEMS TO BE IN CAHOOTS WITH THE RPF
WHO HAVE INVITED THE PARTIES TO A MEETING IN BRUSSELS
ON FEBRUARY 11. I HAVE URGED THE PARTIES TO BE SURE
THAT THE MRND IS INCLUDED IN SUCH A MEETING SHOULD IT
TAKE PLACE. END SUMMARY.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

3. THE SPOKESMAN OF THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THIS
MORNING AT 0630 THE NAMES OF THOSE BEING SUSPENDED
FOR IMPROPER OR INADEQUATE ACTION DURING THE GISENYI
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MASSACRES. INCLUDED ON THE LIST WERE: THE PREFET OF
GISENYI, TWO SOUS-PREFETS, FOUR BOURGEMESTRES AND TWO
COUNSELORS WHO HAD BEEN FILLING IN FOR BOURGEMESTRES.

4. EVEN MORE INTERESTING, WAS THE SUSPENSION OF TWO
POLITICAL PERSONALITIES FROM KIGALI: LEON MUGESERA,
THE INFAMOUS COUNSELOR IN THE MINISTRY OF THE FAMILY
WHO MADE THE INITIAL OUTRAGEOUS SPEECH OF INCITEMENT
IN THE AFFECTED AREAS OF GISENYI; AND, CHRISTOPHE
NDANGALI, DIRECTOR OF CABINET OF THE MINISTRY OF
HIGHER EDUCATION.

5. THUS, A TOTAL OF ELEVEN MRND/CDR OFFICIALS HAVE
BEEN SUSPENDED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE PROMISES MADE BY
THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER DURING
DIPLOMATIC MEETINGS ON FEBRUARY 5 AND 6 AND ANNOUNCED
ON FEBRUARY 6 AND 7.

6. COMMENT: THIS IS ALMOST CERTAINLY A GREATER
NUMBER THAN WOULD HAVE BEEN SACKED BEFORE THE RPF
ATTACK OF FEBRUARY 8. MUGENZI TOLD ME THAT THE
MINISTER OF INTERIOR HAD PLANNED TO SUSPEND ONLY ONE

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BOURGEMESTRE. THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR TOLD ME THAT HE WAS READY TO REPLACE THREE BOURGEMESTRES AND A SOUS-PREFET THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY 8, BUT WITHHELD ACTION AFTER THE ATTACK BECAME KNOWN. END COMMENT.

7. THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR ALSO TOLD ME LATE MORNING FEBRUARY 8, THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT AGREED TO THE SUSPENSION OF THE PREFET OF GISENYI. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE PREFET WAS AN OLD FRIEND OF THE
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PRESIDENT, A MAN WHO HAD SBRVED HABYARIMANA AS CHIEF OF INTELLIGENCE (SCR
QVZQV WTFIDED IN ME THAT THE ONLY WAY THAT THE PRESIDENT COULD BE PERSUADED TO MOVE THE PREFET WAS IF THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS MADE SUCH A PITCH. I TOLD MUNYAZESA THAT I HAD MADE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR TO THE PRESIDENT TWO TIMES LAST WEEK THAT KEY PERSONS MUST BE REMOVED. I COULD TELL HIM THAT I BELIEVED

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H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01 P-01 RPCS-01 SNP-00
SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 RPE-01 /026W
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O 091549Z FEB 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2952
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 00522

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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THAT THE PREFET, BEING THE MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR THE
AREA, WAS ONE OF THOSE WHO SHOULD BE MOVED. I
IMMEDIATELY CALLED RUHIGIRA AND GAVE HIM THE SAME
MESSAGE AND ASKED HIM TO PASS TO THE PRESIDENT MY
VIEW THAT THE PREFET SHOULD BE AMONG THOSE REMOVED,
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NOT BECAUSE I KNEW THAT HE HAD DONE ANYTHING WRONG,
BUT SIMPLY BECAUSE THAT AS THE ONE MAN MOST
RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PREFECTURE, HE HAD TO TAKE THE
WRAP, AND IT SEEMED THAT IN THE PRESENT ENVIRONMENT
AT LEAST THAT MUCH WOULD BE NEEDED TO SATISFY THE
RPF. THE CABINET MET LATE IN EVENING FEBRUARY 8, AND
THIS MORNING'S ANNOUNCEMENT WAS A RESULT.

8. NO DOUBT THE REMOVAL OF MUGESERA AND NDANGALI
WERE THE SURPRISES THAT THE PRIME MINISTER PREDICTED
IN OUR FEBRUARY 6 MEETING (KIGALI 00491).

GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES

9. THIS AFTERNOON IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT UNDER THE
TERMS OF THE PREVIOUS CLEANUP RECOMMENDATIONS, TWO
OTHER BOURGEMESTRES WOULD BE SUSPENDED, AND A
SOUS-PREFET AND EIGHT BOURGEMESTRES WOULD BE FIXED.
AMONG THEM ARE THE INFAMOUS GATETE OF MURAMBI AND
RWAMBUKA OF KANZENZE (BUGESERA). MORE DRAMATIC WAS
THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE RPF HAD KILLED THE

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BOURGEMESTRES OF KIDAHU, BUTARO AND KINIGI, THE LATTER EXPOSED BY THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS VISIT IN JANUARY FOR LEAVING A MASS GRAVE IN HIS BACKYARD. THE RPF ALSO KILLED A JUDGE OF THE RUHENGERI PREFECTURE COURT OF FIRST INSTANCE AND TWO OF HIS CHILDREN. HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS DESCRIBED THIS JUDGE AS AN OLD AND HONEST MAN WHOSE DEATH WAS PROBABLY ACCIDENTAL.

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10. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA SUMMONED THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY THIS NOON FOR A BRIEFING ON THE SITUATION. HE DESCRIBED THE RPF ACTION AS A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE CEASEFIRE. HE SAID THIS VIOLATION CAME AT THE EXACT MOMENT WHEN THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA WAS DOING ALL POSSIBLE TO RESTORE THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. HE CALLED ON THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY TO USE ALL MEANS POSSIBLE TO PERSUADE THE RPF TO ACCEPT PEACE AND TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE ALSO CALLED ON THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY AND ESPECIALLY THE DONORS TO HELP WITH THE NEW DISPLACED CAUSED BY THE CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS. HE COULD GIVE NO NUMBERS ON NEW DISPLACED. THE BOTTOM LINE FOR THE FOREIGN MINISTER IS THAT THIS IS A PROBLEM WHICH DOES NOT HAVE A MILITARY SOLUTION, AND, THEREFORE, IT MUST BE SOLVED BY NEGOTIATIONS. ASKED ABOUT RPF PRECONDITIONS FOR THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS, HE SAID THEY WERE MOSTLY BEING FULFILLED.

11. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA SAID THAT RWANDA HAD NO PRECONDITIONS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF TALKS. HE SAID THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD RESUME AS SOON AS THE CEASEFIRE WAS RESTORED, BUT THAT WAS NOT A PRECONDITION SINCE THEY WOULD BE NEGOTIATING TERMS FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE CEASEFIRE.

12. IN SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AND THE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE GENDARMERIE, WE GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT THIS ATTACK HAD BEEN EXPECTED FOR SOME TIME. WE SENSED

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THAT THE RWANDAN ARMY AND QBNDARMERIE WAS SPREAD THIN
TO MAHAGE BOTH THE POTENTIAL INVASION ZONES AND THE
MOVEMENT OF DISPLACED TO THE SOUTH, BUT WE SENSED NO
PANIC.

13. THE MOST INTERESTING COMMENT WAS BY THE DIRECTOR
OF CABINET OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE, COL. BAGOSORA,
A KNOWN HARDLINER. WHEN ASKED WHAT THE OBJECTIVE OF
THE INVASION WAS, HE SAID, ALMOST CHEERFULLY, THAT
WAR IS JUST AN EXTENSION OF DIPLOMACY. HE SEEMED

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H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03 ADS-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00
OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01 P-01 RPCS-01 SNP-00
SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 RPE-01 /026W
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O 091549Z FEB 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2953
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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AMEMBASSY PARIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 00522

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PERFECTLY WILLING TO CONTINUE THE TALKS IN ARUSHA,
EVEN AS THE FIGHTING CONTINUES.

THE PARTIES AND THE RPF

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14. THE LEADERS OF THE MDR, PL AND THE PSD HAVE BEEN MEETING ALMOST CONSTANTLY SINCE THE CEASEFIRE BROKE YESTERDAY. THEY PLAN TO PUT OUT A COMMUNIQUE TODAY WELCOMING THE ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT IN SUSPENDING GISENYI LEADERS, NOTING THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH, THAT OTHER GUILTY OFFICIALS SHOULD ALSO BE MOVED, AND URGING THE RESUMPTION OF NGOTIATIONS WITH THE RPF. THIS IS AN ADVANCE SUMMARY PROVIDED BY MUGENZI OF A COMMUNIQUE WHICH WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE SOMEWHAT MORE COMPLICATED.

15. MUGENZI HAS ALSO BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE RPF OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS, AND HE ACCEPTS THE JUSTIFICATIONS WHICH THE RPF HAVE GIVEN FOR RETURNING TO THE BATTLEFIELD. THAT IS, HE ACCEPTS THEIR STATEMENT THAT THEY ATTACKED BECAUSE THEY COULDN'T STAND THE MASSACRES OF TUTSIS IN GISENYI. THEY COULD NOT STAND IDLY BY. THEY SAID THEY WERE SIMPLY FOLLOWING UP ON THE JUDGMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER THAT ALL THOSE PEOPLE IN GISENYI THAT PERPETRATED THESE OUTRAGES WERE BANDITS.

16. MUGENZI IS ESSENTIALLY UNMOVED BY THE PLIGHT OF THE RENEWED DISPLACED, BLAMING IT ALL ON HABYARIMANA WHO'S FOLLOWERS PERPETRATED THE MASSACRES IN GISENYI.

17. MUGENZI NOW REPORTS THAT THE RPF HAS AGREED TO MEET WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN BRUSSELS ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11. MUGENZI SOUGHT MY VIEWS. I TOLD HIM WHAT I HAD TOLD HIM A THOUSAND TIMES, THAT

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IS IF THEY WISH TO MEET WITH THE RPF THEY SHOULD BE
SURE THAT THE MRND IS WITH THEM, THIS TIME ESPECIALLY
IN LIGHT OF THE CEASEFIRE VIOLATION. MUGENZI SAID,
FINE, I SHOULD INVITE THEM. I TOLD HIM THAT HE
SHOULD INVITE THEM. I SAID THAT I THOUGHT IT WOULD
BE USEFUL FOR THEM TO HAVE A COMMITMENT FROM THE RPF
TO A CEASEFIRE BEFORE GOING INTO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.
MUGEMZI SAID THEIR PRECONDITION WOULD BE THAT BEFORE
NEGOTIATIONS RESUME, HABYARIMANA MUST ACCEPT ALL
CONDITIONS OF THE JANUARY 9 PROTOCOL. HE SAID THAT
WITHOUT THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CEASEFIRE AND THERE
WOULD BE NO NEGOTIATIONS IN ARUSHA. FLATEN

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*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

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